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Wednesday, 15 December 1993 at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. INSANALLY (Guyana)

In the absence of the President, Mr. Nyakyi (United Republic of Tanzania), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 38 (*continued*) and 39 (*continued*)

ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/48/22)

(b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/48/43)

(c) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/467 and Add.1, A/48/523, A/48/691)

(d) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL AND DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE (FOURTH COMMITTEE) (A/48/657)

(e) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/48/L.29, A/48/L.30, A/48/L.31/Rev.1, A/48/L.36)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/524)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/48/L.37)

Mr. ACHARYA (Nepal): It is a special privilege for all of us now to speak on agenda item 38, "Elimination of apartheid and establishment of united, democratic and non-racial South Africa". It is heartening to see that the political situation in South Africa has at long last emerged into an environment of hope and aspirations which is conducive to bringing an end to the apartheid regime and white minority rule. However, it was not an easy road. Tremendous sacrifices were made by the people of South Africa and the international community as a whole in their struggle against the political and social evil of apartheid.

The present ongoing process of the elimination of apartheid is a welcome development. With the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council and the commencement of its meetings and work, we hope that this process now has become irreversible. The adoption of an interim constitution paves the way for ensuring free and fair elections under the Independent Electoral Commission. The establishment of Independent Broadcasting and Media Commissions will, we hope, give impetus to the education of voters and their greater participation in the electoral process. It is expected that these Commissions will also help to disseminate a strong and impartial political message to the people.

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ENGLISH

We pay a sincere tribute to the President of the African National Congress, Mr. Nelson Mandela, and his countrymen for their remarkable success so far in their endeavours to dismantle apartheid. President De Klerk also deserves our special appreciation for his understanding of the problem and for his role in bringing about the process of transition to a non-racial society. The Nobel Peace Prize awarded to Mr. Mandela and Mr. De Klerk truly testifies to their outstanding leadership in bringing the peace process forward in South Africa.

While we pay homage to those South Africans who lost their lives for the cause of creating a new society based on equal opportunities for all, irrespective of their race, colour, sex and language, we would also like to express our great concern about the violence in South Africa which continues even though the process of transition is taking place. We urge all political leaders and their followers in South Africa to stop the violence and to join the mainstream in order to build a united, non-racial, democratic and prosperous South Africa.

The international community, especially the United Nations, has played a positive and active role in the abolition of apartheid in South Africa. Since its establishment, the Organization has been in the forefront of the struggle against the crime of racial discrimination around the globe. More than four decades ago, the issue of apartheid was brought to the attention of the international community through the United Nations. The Organization has always taken a firm and principled stand in support of the oppressed people of South Africa in their struggle to gain equal opportunities for all, in accordance with the noble objectives of its Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Here, it is worthwhile to recall the adoption by consensus by the General Assembly in December 1989 of the landmark Declaration on South Africa which provided a broad framework for a just, peaceful and lasting settlement of the problem of apartheid. The Security Council and the General Assembly have taken very important decisions to further the cause of peaceful settlement of the South African problem.

Recently, the call by Mr. Mandela from this very rostrum of the General Assembly to the international community to end economic sanctions against South Africa brought a good response from the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth, the European Union and many Governments. We are happy to note that many international and regional organizations, as well as Governments, have now started to resume their economic as well as diplomatic presence in South Africa. We hope that this process will further expand after the recent establishment of the Transitional Executive Council.

We are conscious that the new Government of national unity which will be formed after the April 1994 elections has an enormous task before it in economic reconstruction and the creation of a society based on equal opportunities for all. The most important task will be to maintain law and order and to bring about racial harmony in the country. Economic reconstruction and development can be pursued only in an environment of political stability and peace in the country. We firmly believe that the South African leaders will be successful in maintaining peace and in the optimal mobilization of both human and natural resources to develop a prosperous South Africa. In this connection, I would like to point out that there is now a very important role for the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA), the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and the European Union in furthering the cause of maintaining peace and reconciliation in South Africa, especially before and during the elections.

To conclude, we urge all to work on the recommendations of the mission of the Chairman of the Special Committee Against Apartheid to South Africa, from 1 to 11 March, which assessed the situation on the basis of meetings with various political parties. We hope that the implementation of these recommendations will help in the process of a smooth transition in South Africa. The Committee will continue to work until a united, non-racial and democratic Government is established in South Africa. At the same time, we appeal to all South Africans to rise above their differences in this crucial period of transition and work to forge a common future.

Let us hope for the beginning of a new era in South Africa.

Mr. KOLANE (Lesotho): If the end of the cold war is seen as a result of fundamental global changes, new thinking and innovation are necessary to meet the challenges and opportunities ahead. Unfortunately, there are those in South Africa who believe that to meet the challenges means turning back the hands of time, and that the only innovation and opportunity open to them is to sabotage the process of abolishing apartheid and adopt a repressive system that would represent a setback in terms of all the progress that has been made towards dismantling the system of apartheid.

As has been stated over the years, the situation in South Africa has always been a cause for concern in the Kingdom of Lesotho, as South Africa is our only immediate neighbour. The Kingdom of Lesotho, not only

in the forefront but in the very midst of this situation, continues to call for the elimination of apartheid and institutionalized racial discrimination and the election of a truly just and democratic South African Government. Despite our concern over the ever-rising levels of violence and the increasing resolve of right-wing elements to carry out sabotage, we are encouraged by the achievements that continue to be made through negotiations in that country. In particular we applaud the recent endorsement of a new Constitution and the inauguration a few days ago of the multiracial Transitional Executive Council, which effectively and symbolically ended white minority rule in South Africa. This positive progress is a source of optimism and hope to those of us who come from southern Africa. We trust that the other parties will rededicate themselves to the virtues of restraint and tolerance and embrace the enduring, historical lessons of right over might and of the inescapable imperative of racial harmony for the survival of the nation-State. It is our fervent hope that the lessons of the Kingdom of Lesotho's peaceful transition to democracy early this year will not be lost on the citizens of South Africa, whose own chance to elect a Government of their choice, for the first time after nearly three centuries of white monopoly rule, seems within reach.

We continue, however, to be extremely concerned about the unfortunate loss of life resulting from the ongoing political violence. The never-subsiding - indeed, escalating - violence we witness daily across our border is fast becoming a cultural phenomenon. The Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho, the Right Honourable Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, in his maiden address to the Commonwealth Summit in Cyprus, epitomized Lesotho's concerns when he said:

> "The hopeful signs of multi-democracy in South Africa raise on the one side of the coin a real spectre of strife, as the privileged minority refuses to let go of the monopoly of political power. Before the dust settles, it seems highly likely that thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of refugees will flee across into neighbouring States. Lesotho stands to bear the brunt of such a mass exodus, as she has done in the past, and as it discusses South Africa the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting may wish to consider appropriate contingency measures to address this possibility, lest it be a pyrrhic victory. Emancipation of South Africa's oppressed masses should not undermine the security and political stability of neighbouring States. The Commonwealth, which has done so much in the past to help dismantle the system of apartheid, should continue to be vigilant and not lose sight of the real dangers that continue to lurk in the shadows of the approaching dawn."

That quotation puts in a nutshell the concerns of all the countries in the subregion that have at one time or another hosted refugees fleeing from apartheid. Likewise, the United Nations, which has for long been in the vanguard of the fight against apartheid, should play a catalytic role in the transition to democratic rule. It has been the clarion call of both the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity that the parties concerned in South Africa should, in a necessary climate of cooperation, negotiate the future of their country in good faith and in an atmosphere free of violence. The international community welcomed the announcement of 27 April 1994 as the day of reckoning, when South Africans of all walks of life will be going to the polls to elect a truly non-racial and democratic Government.

It is imperative, therefore, that the international community continue to support the process under way all the way, as warranted by ongoing developments. The international community should also bear in mind that people continue to die as a result of the brutal violence perpetrated by forces opposed to the transition to democratic rule. This unjust economic and political system produces armed violence. But the current level of violence, with its violation of political and civil rights and the frequent suspension of legal guarantees, is of the worst kind.

The situation in South Africa is a ticking bomb liable to explode at any moment with catastrophic results, threatening to engulf the subregion once more in dark clouds of uncertainty. Our subregion has for long toiled under the heavy burden of apartheid, which is characterized as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind. The system of apartheid sought to dehumanize entire peoples and imposed on the region of southern Africa a brutal war which has resulted in untold loss of life, destruction of property and massive displacement of innocent people. The wounds inflicted by apartheid will take much longer to heal, and our region wishes, therefore, to close that bitter chapter once and for all by supporting continuation of the process of transition and the consolidation of a new non-racial and democratic South Africa.

We do not wish to play the devil's advocate or to sound like prophets of doom, but the prospects for a peaceful transition to democracy in South Africa while the violence continues at its present level are very bleak, to say the least. The Chairman of the African National Congress himself told the Assembly two days ago that

> "The time has not yet come when we can sound the victory salute over the system of apartheid. The day has not yet dawned when we can all proclaim that

all the people of South Africa have begun to govern their country". *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings, 76th meeting, p. 24.)*

The current situation provides the extremist forces with fertile ground and opportunities for recruiting mercenaries to perform various unlawful activities aimed at promoting racial and inter-ethnic violence in order to transform the agreement into polarized confrontation. The report by the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights on the question of the use of mercenaries - contained in document A/48/385, dated 23 September 1993 - underscores the fact that Africa is still the continent with the largest mercenary presence, with South Africa still playing a pivotal role. The report goes on to say that even though the intense activities of foreign mercenaries have been curtailed in parts of southern Africa, most notably with the advent of a peace process in Mozambique, mercenaries have not been expelled from the area and their activities have not been severely punished. The current situation in Angola is a vivid reminder and a case in point. The report states that

> "This makes it easier for [the mercenaries] to redeploy to neighbouring countries, mainly to South Africa, a country which, at the height of apartheid, was considered a haven for mercenaries. Foreign mercenaries are still in South Africa. Some were allegedly recruited by pro-apartheid organizations ..." *(A/48/385, para. 79)*.

We therefore humbly appeal to the international community and the peace-loving peoples of the world to do what is necessary to curb the escalating violence, and to be ever vigilant against the use or threat of use of mercenaries to derail the democratic process in that troubled land. The United Nations is called upon to address the complexities of the prevailing violence in South Africa, not as an exercise in piety but in sober and enlightened recognition of the necessity for such action.

We urge the United Nations to upgrade the United Nations monitoring team in South Africa as a matter of urgency, in accordance with the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace", which places considerable importance on preventive diplomacy, peace-building and peacemaking. We appreciate the fact that, despite significant cuts, extrabudgetary funds totalling $24.9 million are proposed for the Department of Political Affairs under sections 3 (b) and (c) of the report, which include preventive diplomacy and peace-keeping. We also welcome the strengthening of and support extended to the Departments of Peace-keeping Operations and Political Affairs, which are identified as priority areas in the medium-term plan. We hope that, as areas in which budgetary funds can be reallocated are identified, due regard will be given to the volatile situation in South Africa.

We also support the recommendation of the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid that the nature of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa could perhaps be modified to make it a United Nations transition mission in South Africa, with a mandate to, *inter alia*, promote and assist the Multi-party Negotiating Process and the national peace accord structures, and to investigate violence and monitor the election process and the conduct of the election campaign.

We are equally gratified that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) is addressing the question of violence in South Africa. We support the establishment within the OAU of a mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution, which was recently inaugurated in Addis Ababa, and we hope that the mechanism will soon be operational to support the current OAU effort in South Africa. We also commend the Commonwealth for dispatching a Commonwealth observer mission to South Africa and appreciate the fact that the mission's mandate has been extended to allow it to remain in South Africa until after the elections.

The situation in South Africa is a complex one which needs to be urgently addressed before it degenerates into intense and generalized conflict. We still remember very clearly President Mandela's appeal during his address before this Organization, when he said that the distance we have to travel is not long and we should travel it together.

History has repeatedly shown that the road to freedom and democracy is never smooth. However, the international community would not want to travel a road that is deliberately and wantonly strewn with dead bodies by the forces of oppression. The end would not justify the means in that particular instance. We appeal once more to the political leaders of South Africa to find a common ground and put an end to the senseless violence that threatens to derail the march to a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. We appeal to the entire international community to empathize with the people of South Africa and not forsake them in their hour of most urgent need.

Mr. HAHM (Republic of Korea): The world has been greatly encouraged by a series of significant steps towards a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. We have all witnessed the successful completion of the Multi-party Negotiating Process and the conclusion of an agreement on an interim constitution and an electoral bill. Another key

element in the democratic process is the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council, which became operational on 8 December. And one of the most important factors for the true democratization of South Africa is the upcoming election based on universal suffrage, which will be held in April 1994.

In my delegation's view, these are historic political developments towards the establishment of a truly non-racial and democratic South Africa. The international community played an important supporting role during South Africa's long journey to its current stage of democratic progress. I would like to recall that the Republic of Korea has actively participated in the international efforts to help build a united, non-racial, and democratic South Africa. The Government of the Republic of Korea made financial contributions to the Africa Fund and several United Nations programmes, including the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for South Africa, and the United Nations Trust Fund for Publicity against Apartheid.

The Government of the Republic of Korea has also adjusted its policies on South Africa, including the phased lifting of sanctions, in accordance with the progress made toward a united, non-racial and democratic system.

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Government of the Republic of South Africa on 1 December 1992, my Government has been reinforcing contacts with the political parties and organizations which represent the majority in South Africa.

Further assistance by the international community is required, particularly during the time leading up to the elections. My Government believes that the lingering disagreement among some political parties should be resolved so that it will not jeopardize the formation of a new government.

Socio-economic imbalances, deeply imbedded in South Africa by decades of apartheid, also continue to plague the majority of the population and could threaten to undermine peaceful and stable development during the transition period and beyond. In this context, the Government of the Republic of Korea will join the international efforts to help address these socio-economic inequities.

In conclusion, my Government wishes to reiterate its firm support for the efforts of the people of South Africa to establish a united, non-racial and democratic country through free and fair elections for all citizens, regardless of race, colour, gender or belief.

Mr. Elaraby (Egypt), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Mr. BATIOUK (Ukraine): The period since last year's debate has been one of great dynamism in the political life of South Africa, a period of intensive bilateral and multilateral negotiations, during which transitional arrangements took shape. The creation of a new negotiating framework, the setting of a date for South Africa's first non-racial, democratic elections, the lifting of economic sanctions and the establishment, at last, of the Transitional Executive Council were remarkable developments, which determined the irreversibility of the process of political settlement in South Africa. Progress was made despite persistent violence, the irreconcilable positions of some political parties and the tense socio-economic situation.

The determination and commitment of the Government of South Africa, the African National Congress and other major parties to achieve a peaceful political settlement, as well as the support of the international community, were decisive factors in moving the process forward.

In a world full of conflicts and crises, the positive changes emerging in South Africa are indeed a source of hope. The United Nations and the international community as a whole can take pride in their contributions to encouraging and supporting the positive changes in South Africa.

The future of South Africa now depends on the outcome of the elections. If free and fair elections are to succeed, political parties must be able to campaign throughout the country, and all voters must have the right to participate in the electoral process without any hindrance or harassment.

It is necessary to emphasize that special attention should be paid to the question of voters' education. This is a factor of great importance, as the majority of the population of South Africa will be taking part in such elections for the first time. Furthermore, nearly 8 million of the country's 24 million black people are functionally illiterate.

The role of the security forces is another matter of critical importance. The mistrust between the police and various segments of the population should be overcome as soon as possible. Integrated security forces can and should play an important and positive role in this regard.

The international community remains deeply concerned at the continuing violence, which has claimed the lives of thousands of South Africans and threatens the very process of political settlement. Recent developments suggest that when political parties begin active campaigning for elections an upsurge in political violence is possible. This phenomenon poses a considerable problem for the conduct of free and fair elections.

As the National Peace Accord and its structures are instruments that remain vital to the maintenance of peace in South Africa, they should be strengthened and revitalized through the cooperation of all parties concerned, including the Government, civil organizations and the South African police. We believe that only through collective determination to respond to and effectively curb all forms of violence will law and order in that society be established.

The violence in South Africa has both political and socio-economic dimensions. It is obvious that the root cause of violence has its origins in the dying system of apartheid. But the problem is compounded by easy access to firearms, by political intolerance, by the failure of the criminal justice system to act effectively and by mistrust of the South African police. Growing criminality and glaring socio-economic inequalities also continue to contribute to political violence, especially among the youth. Angered and frustrated young black South Africans, 90 per cent of whom are unemployed, constitute fertile ground for political confrontation.

The delegation of Ukraine is convinced that unless the violence is bridled it may seriously damage any current or future agreement whose purpose is the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Another crucial task facing the leadership of that country derives from the necessity to alleviate the large-scale poverty, to deal with the huge inequalities between blacks and whites and to improve the standards of living of the majority of people in South Africa. The legacy of apartheid will continue to plague South African society if decisive measures aimed at redressing the inequalities are neglected. Moreover, if the basic socio-economic needs of the people are not met immediately, the durability of a political settlement cannot be assured, and the prospect of a peaceful transition is likely to be threatened.

As we see the situation, the main issues before South Africans today are interconnected, and their settlement requires an integrated approach. Without peace, it will be impossible to introduce democracy and to solve the socio-economic problems. Without tangible results in the socio-economic sphere, there will be no end to violence - no peace.

The delegation of Ukraine believes that, as well as encouraging the process of peaceful political settlement in South Africa, the international community must focus its attention on the socio-economic dimensions of South Africa's transition. It is essential, in our opinion, that investment and international assistance be aimed at the elimination of the glaring imbalances caused by apartheid.

In this connection, we should like to stress the contributions of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, under the able leadership of Ambassador Gambari of Nigeria, and of the Centre against Apartheid in transforming United Nations activities in this area into concrete steps designed to facilitate fundamental reform in South Africa. The delegation of Ukraine is convinced that the current deliberations on this question and the adoption of the draft resolutions submitted under this agenda item will contribute to this process.

I should like, in conclusion, to express our sincere hope that, very soon, irreversible changes in South Africa, complemented by concerted and dedicated efforts on the part of the international community, will result in our welcoming a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa into our midst.

Mr. SHAMBOS (Cyprus): Once again the General Assembly is considering - as it has done for almost four decades - the all-important question of apartheid in South Africa. The discussion this year, however, is taking place against the background of positive developments sweeping through South Africa, foreshadowing the irreversible eradication of the discredited system of apartheid. The process of dialogue that is overtaking affairs on the world scene could not fail to make an impact on this seemingly intractable problem.

Since the resumption of negotiations in April 1993, the Multi-party Negotiating Process under way in South Africa has achieved remarkable progress in charting the constitutional future of South Africa, including the setting of 27 April 1994 as the date for the country's first universal elections. The fact that 26 political parties and groups from South Africa's political spectrum are participating renders the progress made even more significant.

The principles adopted by the Multi-Party Forum constitute an assurance that South Africa's future constitution will secure a government of the highest level of international democratic standards. One of the most substantive components of the new constitution is the

safeguarding of fundamental rights for all South Africans, rights including freedom of speech and movement, and other liberties that in the past were reserved mainly for members of the ruling minority. Among the vestiges of apartheid abolished by these agreements are the 10 self-governing "homelands" invented by apartheid as reservations for members of the country's oppressed majority. These "homelands", in reality the offspring of segregation, are to disappear when the new constitution takes effect, immediately after the elections of 27 April 1994.

The delicate balance achieved between majority rule and safeguards for minorities is a commendable and wise solution, assuring the peaceful transition of South Africa to complete democracy.

All those who contributed to the successful outcome of this long and hard negotiating marathon deserve the praise of the international community. The 1993 Nobel Peace Prize awarded to the protagonists of this achievement of world-wide import, President De Klerk and Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), for their work for the peaceful termination of the apartheid regime, and for laying the foundation for a new, democratic South Africa, is at the same time an honour to the anonymous crowd of heroes of the anti-apartheid struggle from both sides, which constitutes the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa. That well-timed award honours the process of racial peace and symbolizes the recognition by the international community of the common achievement, by all South Africans, through working united to establish expeditiously the peaceful, integrated and democratic society so much deserved by this tormented land, a land full of prospects.

The General Assembly, noting that the transition to democracy had been enshrined in the law of South Africa, acting swiftly, wisely and unanimously through resolution 48/1, adopted on 8 October 1993, welcomed these all-important developments by lifting trade, investment and travel sanctions, thus normalizing commercial and economic relations with South Africa. Through that historic resolution it was also decided that all resolutions adopted by the General Assembly relating to the imposition of an embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa should cease to have effect as of the date that the Transitional Executive Council became operational, and requested all States to take appropriate measures to lift any restrictions or prohibitions they had imposed to implement previous resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly in this respect.

The statement made by the President of the General Assembly on 9 December 1993, after the Transitional Executive Council had been established, put the final touches on the lifting of the sanctions with respect to petroleum and petroleum products, which had never been intended to punish the suffering South African people, but which were means used by the international community to put across its stern message that the anachronistic and abhorrent policy of apartheid must be put to rest. This strong practical form of international action, reinforced by morality, induced change and brought forth reforms that deserve the support of the entire international community.

It has been correctly said that apartheid was born in conquest, maintained by repression and exploitation and nurtured by the perverted philosophy of racial superiority. We believe, therefore, that bringing about its demise will not be an easy task and that much vigilance is required. We are concerned at the escalation of violence, as reported very recently in the press, and emphasize once again that the responsibility for the maintenance of law and order lies with the South African Government. The assassination in April this year of Chris Hani, a proponent of negotiations and a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee, was both a call to alarm and a deplorable act of violence directed against those who strive for peace, democracy and justice in a united non-racial South Africa. It also underscored the need for measures to be taken to protect the right of all citizens to engage in peaceful, political activities without fear or intimidation.

The deployment of United Nations observers on the basis of Security Council resolution 772 (1992) of 17 August 1992, in line with the structures set up under the National Peace Accord, constitutes mankind's commitment and its response to violence. These United Nations observers should be extended full cooperation by all parties and organizations so as to enable them to carry out their mission completely and effectively. We commend the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and the European Union, whose observers, in parallel with those of the United Nations, have been deployed in South Africa to make their own contribution to the success of the peaceful transformation of South Africa into a non-racial democratic society.

We would like also to express our deep appreciation for the invaluable work done on the matter by the Special Committee against Apartheid, under the capable leadership of His Excellency Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria. We believe the mandate of that Committee should be extended until the democratically elected government of South Africa has been installed.

We commend the Secretary-General for the action taken to address areas of concern specified in his reports, especially regarding assistance to strengthen the structures set up under the National Peace Accord and to deploy United Nations observers in South Africa to further the purposes of that accord. Until the system of apartheid has been finally dismantled it is vital that the United Nations continue to play an active role in South Africa. The United Nations and the world community should continue to review the few remaining restrictive measures. At the same time, the Organization should launch without delay coordinated and detailed programmes for social and economic assistance to South Africa in order to contribute to the translation of emerging democratic opportunities into genuine reality for all South Africans.

As we all stand before the judgement of history, we are obliged to spare no effort in assisting the people of South Africa in achieving the noble goal of transforming their country into a full democracy. In that regard, we call upon all parties to refrain from acts of violence and not to allow violence to threaten the process of the peaceful transformation of South Africa into a democratic country. The South African authorities have to take every measure to promote and safeguard the right of all citizens to participate fully in the democratic process in all its dimensions.

At this juncture, we express the hope that the few parties keeping themselves outside the latest historic agreements will put the interest of South Africa and its people above all else, and will join the common effort for the creation of a new South Africa, where present and future generations will be able to work in a peaceful and democratic environment for the advancement of their well-being.

Having ourselves experienced for the last 20 years a form of forced segregation caused by foreign invasion and occupation, we remain very sensitive to violations of democratic principles. With the recent positive developments in South Africa paving the way for the total eradication of apartheid at its roots, we expect that the international community and this Organization will show their decisive support for a Cyprus solution free from any separatist manifestations.

In welcoming the developments in South Africa which should lead to the end of the odious practice of apartheid, we pray that never again will human beings on the face of this Earth be forced to live in conditions of racial, ethnic, religious or other separation from their fellow human beings. We believe that it is our duty to be vigilant until the system of racial separation, with all its connotations, has been brought to a complete and irreversible end in South Africa and everywhere else in the world. To this end, South Africa must receive the wholehearted support of the entire international community if we are to make progress towards the achievement of the lofty objectives embodied in the National Peace Accord.

Mr. BILOA TANG (Cameroon) *(interpretation from French)*: The elimination of apartheid and the creation of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa has, for too long, in our view, been a subject of concern for the entire international community.

At a time, therefore, when both here and in the Middle East, events have taken a dramatic and irreversible turn - one which has been for so long awaited, desired and encouraged - Cameroon cannot but join the chorus of renewed and unreserved support for this very fortunate acceleration of the process, both to welcome it and to take note of it.

In his statement in the general debate in the Assembly on 8 October last, the head of our delegation pointed out that despite the hurdles which, it can reasonably be foreseen, will still remain to be overcome, southern Africa and the Middle East have, almost simultaneously, undergone developments which have aroused great hope - a hope commensurate with what is at stake.

Indeed, quite apart from the realization that things can no longer be the same after the Begin-Arafat handshake; the Nobel Prize shared between Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk; and the coming into being of the Transitional Executive Council, which is the historic forerunner of the interim government of national unity, it is important, we believe, to emphasize that the advent of a unified, democratic and non-racial South Africa should also produce beneficial effects extending well beyond the national frontiers of that country. The crisis which holds Mozambique and Angola in thrall should thus, we believe, shortly fade away, since the destabilizing elements in Mozambique and Angola will no longer have the assurance of finding sanctuary in a South Africa that has rejected the ghetto of apartheid.

May I recall in this connection that within the framework and at the height of the struggle for decolonization and the abolition of apartheid, Cameroon had at that time enacted a number of measures banning all relations with Portugal, Rhodesia and racist South Africa, with the intention of affecting all goods and services going to or coming from South Africa, Rhodesia or Portugal. Cameroon also took an active part in drawing up the Lusaka manifesto on southern Africa, which was presented to the Assembly by the Head of State of Cameroon on behalf of the non-aligned countries 1969. Likewise, at the

extraordinary ministerial conference held in Dar-es-Salaam in 1976, we, together with other members of the Organization of African Unity, laid down and defined the conditions under which a dialogue could be established between independent Africa and South Africa.

At that time, the issue was, in response to the offers made by South Africa, to make it clear that then-racist South Africa would first have to hold a dialogue with the South African nationalists themselves within the country, which nationalists themselves should likewise first have to be released. At that time, these nationalists included Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Sobukwe.

When Portugal shed its African territories and when minority racist leader Ian Smith disappeared from the political scene, this subsequently prompted my Government to lift the embargoes and prohibitions which I referred to earlier. More recently, and in connection with South Africa itself, in view of the satisfactory developments which have noted and encouraged, sporting events were held with the encouragement and support of Nelson Mandela; the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa came to Cameroon; there was an exchange of ministerial visits, trade missions and so on. This trend will result, we believe, in the establishment very shortly of diplomatic relations between Pretoria and Yaounde.

Even if the road before us is still steep and full of pitfalls, the process under way has reached the point of no return. Therefore we must reiterate our support for what is being done by the South Africans themselves, with the support of the international community, to put an end to violence, to build confidence and to promote dialogue in order to eradicate apartheid and to create a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Let us therefore all work together for the dawning of a new era in a South Africa which has become reconciled with itself and which is ready to play its part in the community of nations, in Africa and in the world.

Mr. ERDÖS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): The developments of recent months are the clearest possible sign that South Africa has arrived at a historic turning-point. After four decades of a regime based on the principle of apartheid, the citizens of that country will for the first time have the possibility of expressing themselves freely in an election on the future of their country without distinction of race or of colour.

The way we have followed to this point has been very long and difficult, full of violence and countless difficulties. It continues to be jeopardized by extremists on all sides working to undermine it, but now at last we see before us the tangible possibility of the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The President took the Chair.

Hungary, which is located in an ethnically diverse part of Europe, is committed to the establishment world-wide of political regimes that reject discrimination of all kinds. Hungary has always followed developments in southern Africa with great interest, as reflected in our having been the first country in our region to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa once it had begun its long journey towards a genuinely democratic society. In the same spirit, Hungary has stated its readiness to help organize the South African electoral process and to send observers in the framework of the international effort coordinated by the United Nations.

We commend the wisdom and courage of the South African leaders, who displayed exemplary political maturity, patience and perseverance in their efforts to reach the agreements that finally opened the way to the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council and laid the legal foundations for the democratic elections to be held next April. We pay a special tribute to Mr. Nelson Mandela and to President De Klerk, most deserving recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize, a Prize symbolizing both their joint efforts and the vital need, if social peace is to come to a divided society, for united work and mutual tolerance by majority and minority political leaders alike. In the light of continuing tension and violent incidents, it seems to us even more important that all political forces, without exception, take an active part in the forthcoming elections.

The United Nations system has played a role of primary importance in the process of dismantling the system of apartheid in South Africa. We firmly believe that the international community must continue in the future to focus its attention on the situation in that country, in order to provide the assistance needed for it to overcome the inevitable obstacles and ensure, through the elections, a smooth transition to democracy. Beyond international political support, this will require multilateral economic assistance to resolve the economic and social problems besetting the population. Such an international and United Nations contribution could be a great help in creating the necessary conditions for achieving the goal of restoring South Africa to the community of nations. We hope that this will be the last session at which the General Assembly has before it the question of the elimination of apartheid.

In the light of what is now happening in South Africa, we cannot conceal our profound bitterness and frustration at the fact that, as we witness the dismantling of apartheid

in South Africa and the elimination there of a practice that runs counter to civilized norms, we are also witnessing in another part of the world the reintroduction of those same principles of apartheid: a new segregation of peoples that have always lived together, a forced, artificial separation of ethnic communities with an age-old history of coexistence. This is an anachronistic situation obvious to all, a manifestation of failure that will affect us all. Let us all think about it.

Mr. MUMBENGEGWI (Zimbabwe): On 21 August 1989 the Organization of African Unity's Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa met in Harare, Zimbabwe, and issued a statement on the question of South Africa which came to be known as the Harare Declaration on South Africa. That historic Declaration was subsequently endorsed by the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries at their ninth Summit conference, held in Belgrade from 4 to 7 September 1989. On the basis of the Declaration, the General Assembly adopted by consensus the benchmark Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa; it did so four years ago almost to the day, on 14 December 1989.

In its Declaration the General Assembly gave the people of South Africa a political road map consisting of fundamental principles that could constitute a basis for an internationally acceptable solution to the South African question which would enable South Africa to take its rightful place as an equal partner in the world community of nations. A two-stage process was envisaged.

First, the Declaration called for the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations through the unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees; the lifting of all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organizations and persons; the removal of all troops from the townships; the ending of the state of emergency; the repeal of all legislation designed to circumscribe political activity; and the cessation of all political trials and political executions.

Secondly, in the context of the necessary climate, the parties concerned would undertake negotiations on the future of their country with a view to reaching agreement on a mechanism for drawing up a new constitution, on the role to be played by the international community in ensuring the successful transition to a democratic order, and on transitional arrangements and modalities for the process of drawing up and adopting a new constitution and for the transition to a democratic order, including the holding of elections.

It is no exaggeration to say that none of those assembled at that sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the question of apartheid and its destructive consequences in Southern Africa, fully realized that they were on the threshold of momentous change in South Africa. Indeed, many were pleasantly surprised that such a momentous Declaration on apartheid was adopted by consensus, admittedly after long and difficult negotiations and consultations. Little did they know that this clear and united stand by the international community, totally free of equivocation, would be one of the catalytic factors that would lead within 60 days to the unconditional release, on 11 February 1990, of President Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and other leading political prisoners and the lifting of all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organizations, a necessary event that launched the serious efforts to bring to an end through negotiations the policies and practices of apartheid.

We all know that the negotiation process has been difficult and complex. It has see-sawed between optimism and despair. However, through the sheer, dogged determination of the people of South Africa, who persistently and consistently refused to be diverted from their negotiation process, we now stand on the verge of a new era, not only for South Africa and the region but also for Africa and the world at large.

While it is true that the international community played an important role in the fight to eradicate apartheid, there was never any doubt that the primary responsibility for achieving a just, long-lasting settlement lay with the people of South Africa themselves. It is in that context that we should congratulate them on their determination and courage in continuing to negotiate in spite of widespread violent provocation, which could easily have derailed the entire negotiation process.

The resumption of multi-party negotiations in April 1993, 10 months after the suspension of negotiations under the second session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA II), has led to significant breakthroughs. The Multi-party Negotiating Process has now fixed 27 April 1994 as the date for the first non-racial democratic elections in South Africa. Agreement has also been reached on transitional arrangements, including the Transitional Executive Council, the Independent Electoral Commission, the Independent Media Commission, the Independent Broadcasting Authority and the interim constitution. These principal provisions of the transitional arrangements have now been enacted into South African Law. The Transitional Executive Council became operational a week ago, on 7 December 1993.

While those positive developments have been welcomed by the international community, it is important that the international community, either through regional organizations such as the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth, the European Union, or through the United Nations, continue to give support and encouragement to the process currently under way in South Africa.

There is, of course, the question of violence. This clearly needs to be attended to, not only by the Government of South Africa, which bears the primary responsibility, and the political parties in the country, but also by the international community. Unless this scourge is eliminated, or at least brought under control, there is the real danger that the heat of the election campaign could be used as an excuse to escalate acts of violence and thereby threaten and undermine the chances of a free and fair election campaign and election process.

We are aware that there are parties and political formations in South Africa that participated in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process either only partially or not at all. Every effort should be made to encourage those parties to take their case to the people of South Africa by participating fully in the election campaign and in the April elections themselves. Indeed, where the way to the ballot box is free and open there can be no justification on anyone's part to resort to the use or threat of use of violence to achieve political objectives.

It is extremely important that after years of struggle in South Africa, after the loss of thousands of lives and the maiming of thousands more, the results of the first democratic elections not be contested. Conditions must be created that will satisfy both the winners and the losers that they have won or lost an election that was both free and fair. The best way to achieve this is not only through carefully crafted electoral procedures, which we hope the Independent Electoral Commission will attend to, but also through a coordinated and adequate presence of international monitors and observers. It is our view that any presence of the international community that does not allow for an international observer for each polling station would not be adequate. It is important to try to learn some relevant lessons from the past. In the 1980 elections in the then Rhodesia, which concluded the difficult birth process of the State of Zimbabwe, the sight of a single unarmed British bobby at every polling station, including the most remote, did a lot to inspire confidence among the general populace in the freeness and fairness of the electoral process.

It has been suggested that had there been more monitors and observers in the Angolan elections last year the course of events in that unhappy country would have been different. The point however is that in a situation where there is so much suspicion and mistrust, a substantial international presence could avoid unjustified and baseless allegations and counter-allegations. South Africa is a place where centuries of oppression and exploitation have created deep suspicions and mistrust. It is therefore our hope that the international community will respond positively and generously to the electoral needs of the people of South Africa. The consequence of a disputed election outcome in South Africa can be a serious and dangerous threat to the peace not only of that country and that region but also of the continent, as well as to international peace and security.

Apartheid was not only a political system; it was an economic and social system as well. In fact, it has been said that the discriminatory legal instruments that formed the underpinnings of South Africa's political system were only the scaffolding that the architects of apartheid needed to set in place an economic and social system that was grossly beneficial to the white minority at the expense of the black majority.

Therefore, the euphoria that surrounds the repeal of apartheid legislation should not lead us to overlook the fact that the economic, social and, to a large extent, political consequences of apartheid will continue to be felt well after the first non-racial democratic election scheduled for next year.

This means that the international community must commit itself to assisting the victims of apartheid well into the post-apartheid era. It is in this context that we welcome the current consultations between the United Nations and the Commonwealth with a view to organizing a donors' conference following the April elections which would mobilize international support for addressing the human-resource development needs of post-apartheid South Africa, particularly those of the disadvantaged sectors of society.

In conclusion, allow me to pay a tribute to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Mr. Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria, to the Special Committee and to the Centre against Apartheid for their tireless efforts to discharge their mandate. The report before us is full testimony of this. The international community should thank them and wish them well as they work towards the successful conclusion of a mandate that many had thought a "Mission Impossible". Our tribute is also owed to the Secretary- General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for the resourceful and imaginative manner in which he has exerted his efforts on the question of South Africa. We should thank him and wish him well as

he prepares and puts together arrangements for the necessary and enhanced involvement of the international community in the run-up to the elections, in the voting process itself and in post-apartheid reconstruction and development.

Finally, our last tribute should - and, indeed, does - go to the courageous people of South Africa who, under the committed and dedicated leadership of their liberation movements, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress have, against all odds, brought apartheid to its knees and thereby restored their inalienable right to determine their own destiny. True, we cannot fail to recognize the catalytic role of the international community, but those who struggled and suffered and in some cases paid the supreme sacrifice must occupy the well-deserved place of honour.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: As representatives know, the General Assembly is now preparing to conclude its work for the year. In this connection, I should like to inform members of the programme of work for the week beginning 20 December and the date on which it is expected the Assembly will recess.

On Monday, 20 December, in the morning, the Assembly will consider reports of the Third Committee and draft resolutions under various agenda items on which the Assembly has been awaiting reports of the Fifth Committee on programme budget implications.

On Tuesday, 21 December, in the afternoon, the Assembly will take up reports of the Second Committee. On the same day the Fifth Committee should hold its last meeting before the holiday recess, so that the Assembly may have a plenary meeting the following day, Wednesday, 22 December, to take action on the recommendations of the Fifth Committee. Any unfinished business related to the Fifth Committee that must be resolved before the end of the year would have to be considered at a meeting of the Fifth Committee on Tuesday, 28 December, and by the Assembly, in plenary meeting, the same day, or on Wednesday, 29 December, at the latest.

I hope that this will not cause any inconvenience for delegations.

AGENDA ITEMS 38 (continued) and 39 (continued)

ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/48/22)

(b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/48/43)

(c) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/467 and Add.1, A/48/523, A/48/691)

(d) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL AND DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE (FOURTH COMMITTEE) (A/48/657)

(e) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/48/L.29, A/48/L.30, A/48/L.31/Rev.1, A/48/L.36)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/524)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/48/L.37)

The PRESIDENT: I call on the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid to introduce draft resolutions A/48/L.29 and A/48/L.30.

Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid: I wish to speak first not in my capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, but as the representative of a country - Nigeria - that has been in the vanguard of the struggle against apartheid, that heinous crime against humanity.

Today - 45 years after India first raised in the Assembly the question of discriminatory legislation by the South African Government against Indians of South African origin, and 31 years after the General Assembly established the Special Committee against Apartheid to keep the racial policies of the Government of South Africa under constant review - South Africans are on the threshold of attaining their cherished goal: a new, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

About three weeks ago 19 of the political groups engaged in the multi-party negotiations ratified the agreement on a Constitution for the transition in South Africa. Prior to this historic development there was the equally historic decision to fix the date for the election in South Africa - 27 April 1994 - when all South Africans, black and white, aged 18 years and above, will for the first time ever participate in a general election in that country.

All these positive developments testify to the fact that we are on the verge of a new era in South Africa's chequered political history.

Since the Special Committee against Apartheid was established in 1962 Nigeria has had the honour and privilege of chairing its work for more than two and a half decades. During these long years my delegation has worked with dedication and commitment within the Committee in support of the struggles of the South African people. As a country and as a delegation, we have devoted considerable time and resources to fighting the obnoxious and inhuman system of apartheid in South Africa. Apartheid has caused havoc in many aspects of the everyday lives of Scuth African citizens, and the consequences of the policy linger in the economic sphere, in health, in education, in housing and in employment - to mention just a few examples.

The dawn of a new South Africa is therefore expected to bring forth the freedoms and fundamental rights that the majority of South Africans have been deprived of for so long, and for which they have fought for so long. The majority of the population of South Africa have endured the discrimination and inequities forced upon them by the apartheid system, have devoted many years of sacrifice - perhaps their whole lives in some cases - to the struggle for its demise, and have lost many loved ones along the way.

Today, as South Africans anticipate the birth of that new and just society, they justifiably look forward to reaping the fruits of their pain and suffering. They expect immediate positive changes in the socio economic imbalances that affect the lives of so many.

It must be stressed, however, that the new South Africa, despite the improving, though rather optimistic, statistical indications, is in for some extremely bumpy years. Many white South Africans consider theirs a rich country. In a way, judging by the 1988 figures for gross domestic product (GDP) per head, they are right. The GDP for South African whites was $6,500, compared with, for example, $650 for Zimbabweans and $1,600 for Botswanans.

Adult literacy among the whites is nearly 100 per cent, and white South Africans can expect to live for 73 years. South Africa has many sparkling cities and leafy suburbs. It has a good infrastructure, many rich people, a few world-class companies, and good hospitals and universities. On the face of it, these figures appear to indicate that South Africa belongs to the first world rather than the third world. The reality, of course, is that it does not.

Look beyond the white minority, and the country is seen to be truly "a tale of two cities". The majority of South Africans struggle for access to the basics of life - land, water, work, basic social services - and 84 per cent of the country's estimated 30 million blacks are earning less than enough to ensure that their families have adequate nutrition. These huge socio-economic disparities are indeed shocking in what is seemingly a first-world country. Herein lies a contradiction which is unlikely to disappear from South Africa soon.

The transition of South Africa presents a formidable challenge of political management. The tasks and problems confronting the country after apartheid will be no less daunting - writing the Constitution, building the nation, and addressing the glaring socio-economic inequities that South Africans face. South Africans will expect a new Government immediately to deal with these and other obstacles entrenched in the system by many long years of apartheid. It is a question not only of seeking an accommodation between these divergent views, but also of ensuring that the exuberance and political anxiety accompanying the process of transition is well managed and is channelled properly towards assisting in that process.

While the international community may stand ready to assist a new South Africa, redressing the country's socio-economic imbalances will ultimately depend largely on a growing economy. Nigeria is optimistic that the wisdom and resilience exhibited by the seasoned and dedicated leadership, both black and white, indeed, by all South Africans, which have resulted in the many historic decisions reached recently by the multi-party negotiators, will again be brought to bear in turning the economy around for the monumental tasks that lie ahead.

It is true that we stand on the threshold of a new South Africa that is full of promise, but it must be remembered that the evolving situation is as fraught with uncertainty and danger as it is complex and fragile. Violence, political intolerance and long-unfulfilled expectations still pose great danger to the process of peaceful political settlement.

Political violence has become a campaign orchestrated by those elements that are opposed to the negotiation process. It is aimed at discouraging, as well as frustrating, the political forces seeking the peaceful transformation of South Africa from an apartheid society into a non-racial, democratic society. Our fear is that such violence will escalate in the run-up to the elections - precisely to make a successful and peaceful outcome impossible.

Despite the enormous and historic progress made by the multi-party negotiators in their talks, differences between parties seeking to shape a post-apartheid future for South Africa persist. Of particular concern is the continuing insistence by the Conservative Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party on suspending their participation in the multi-party negotiations and perhaps not participating in the elections of 27 April 1994. They also appear to reject as binding on them decisions arrived at by the Multi-Party Forum.

These positions, in our view, have the capacity to aggravate the situation in the country and to reduce the chances of an early peaceful settlement. We renew our appeal to all in those parties to reconsider their decision positively, in the interests of all the people of South Africa.

In this connection we also want to appeal to the international community to give active and urgent consideration to the request for a sizeable number of election monitors in South Africa. The arguments for this are well articulated in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, which we, of course, as a delegation, entirely endorse.

Nigeria is indeed truly delighted that at long last the proverbial light at the end of the long, tortuous and dark tunnel now appears to be in sight and that the birth of a new South Africa may indeed be only months away. We wish to seize this opportunity as Nigerians to congratulate the South African people, black and white, and in particular their leaders who, in the last two years, have shown great statesmanship in the negotiations that have resulted in the monumental decisions of the past few months.

The transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial society will open up new challenges not only for South Africa but also for the subregion and, indeed, for the continent of Africa as a whole to continue to contribute to international peace and security in the world. The costs of reconstructing the economies of the subregion destroyed by acts of aggression and destabilization by South Africa are enormous. Given the magnitude of the task, it is our hope that we can still count on those whose solidarity has made an important contribution to bringing us to this stage of the struggle.

The multi-racial Transitional Executive Council became operational on 7 December, and thus has finally, and in concrete terms, confirmed the irreversibility of the march towards an apartheid-free society in South Africa. In response to the appeal made by Mr. Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, to this Organization on 24 September 1993, Nigeria will now commence active contact with the South African authorities to facilitate bilateral diplomatic interaction.

Since this may well be the last session of the General Assembly to deal with this agenda item in its present form, my delegation would like to thank the States Members of the Organization for the untiring efforts they have brought to bear on this question, efforts which have today made it possible for this vast and inhuman system to be erased from the statute books in South Africa. The members of the Special Committee deserve special gratitude for their role in getting us to where we are today. Nigeria is indeed grateful for their consistent support in the difficult past years. Above all, the oppressed and dispossessed people of South Africa must be congratulated on their resilience and steadfastness. This victory, which is truly theirs, is very well deserved. As Chairman of the Special Committee, I received immense support and cooperation from our partners in all the regions and all the groups, and I thank them for their support.

We have consistently maintained that we wish to be the last Chairman of the Special Committee. It remains our expectation that apartheid will truly be dead after the successful elections on 27 April 1994, at which time the international community can take deserved pride in giving the obnoxious system that has left thousands of hearts permanently distressed a befitting funeral. Today we can say that, barring any difficulties in the months ahead, and with God's help, that wish will be attained.

Now, in my capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, I should like to introduce two draft resolutions for adoption by the General Assembly under agenda item 38, "Elimination of apartheid and establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa," on which we have just concluded our debate.

Draft resolution A/48/L.29, "International efforts towards the total eradication of apartheid and support for the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa", is the outcome of a profound assessment of developments in South Africa since last year's debate in the General Assembly - an assessment set forth in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid. The Special Committee has also consulted with a number of delegations and has taken into consideration the views and proposals expressed by them in the course of those exchanges. I am happy to say that the draft resolution is in line with almost all the statements made during the consideration of agenda item 38.

The draft resolution reflects the actual situation in South Africa, identifies the areas of concern, indicates objectives for the international community with regard to

a changing South African society and recommends ways in which the international community could help South Africa in the forthcoming critical period. Violence is still a very serious problem in South Africa's peaceful transition. Our concern over the continuing violence and our recommendations in that regard are reflected in five of the 22 paragraphs of the operative part of the draft resolution. There is broad-based agreement that assistance from the international community to the South African society is of the utmost importance at this stage and will be so in the years to come. Eight paragraphs of the draft resolution define the main areas of assistance sought.

Since the future of South Africa depends on the outcome of the first non-racial democratic elections, an immediate task before the United Nations and the international community as a whole is to be ready to provide the support for the electoral process that the South Africans, through the Transitional Executive Council and the Independent Electoral Commission, are soon expected to request. Under the draft resolution, the Assembly would call upon the Secretary-General to respond promptly and positively to such a request and to accelerate planning, in consultation with the Security Council, for a United Nations role in the election process, in coordination with the observer missions of the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and the European Union.

At this important period of fundamental changes in the history of South Africa a continuing international consensus on the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa will signal once again the international community's determination to stay with the South Africans during this period of transition. I am encouraged to believe that such an international agreement is at hand and that draft resolution A/48/L.29 can be adopted by consensus.

As Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, I was pleased to hear in many statements expressions of appreciation for the role that the Committee has played in mobilizing international support for the elimination of apartheid and in promoting support for the process of peaceful political settlement in South Africa. I am very grateful to acknowledge those words of encouragement and appreciation.

Draft resolution A/48/L.30, "Programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid," provides directions for the Special Committee's activities until the completion of its mandate following the establishment of a democratically elected, non-racial government in South Africa.

In asking members to vote in favour of draft resolution A/48/L.30, I urge them to bear in mind that in the next few months South Africans will need, perhaps more than ever, the support of the international community. It is crucial that we stay with them until the course is finally run, allowing the Special Committee to go out of existence with a sense of its mission having been fulfilled.

I should like to take this opportunity to thank all the participants in this debate who emphasized the positive approach taken by the Special Committee. The Special Committee has at all times been ably supported by the Centre against Apartheid, which operates under significant resource constraints. I believe that the Centre deserves to be appreciated and encouraged for its effective and productive work.

The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the Vice-Chairman of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, Miss Nabeela Al-Mulla of Kuwait, to introduce draft resolution A/48/L.31/Rev.1.

Ms. AL MULLA (Kuwait), Vice-Chairman of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa: On behalf of Algeria, Cuba, Indonesia, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Ukraine, the United Republic of Tanzania and my country, Kuwait, I have the honour to introduce draft resolution A/48/L.31/Rev.1 on the "Work of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa".

It is only logical that this should be the last draft resolution submitted by the Group to the Assembly. In one sense, it is a procedural text that takes note of the report of the Intergovernmental Group, terminates the mandate of the Group and arranges for the receipt of responses of States that have not yet replied to queries addressed to them but would wish to do so. Given the good cooperation that the Group had over the years with Member States, the latter procedure was deemed necessary since queries regarding the investigation carried out by the Group were sent to Governments on 31 August 1993, and many of them were not in a position to respond in time to have their replies reflected in the report. Therefore, in accordance with operative paragraph 3, the Assembly would request the Secretary-General to issue, by 30 January 1994, addenda to the report.

On the other hand, the text reflects the political endorsement by the international community of the progress made towards a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. As far as the oil embargo is concerned, draft resolution A/48/L.31/Rev.1 wraps up what has already

been taken up by General Assembly resolution 48/1. In that resolution, the Assembly decided:

> "that all provisions adopted by the General Assembly relating to the imposition of an embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa, and on investment in the petroleum industry there, shall cease to have effect as of the date that the Transitional Executive Council becomes operational" (*resolution 48/1, para. 2*).

On 7 December, the Transitional Executive Council became operational. On 9 December, you yourself, Mr. President, announced that the oil embargo was lifted. The members of the Intergovernmental Group welcome these developments, particularly the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council, which is reflected in the third preambular paragraph.

Lastly, it is the wish and the hope of the sponsors that the Assembly will adopt this draft resolution by consensus.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform representatives that in order to allow the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and the Fifth Committee to review the programme budget implications of the draft resolutions submitted under agenda items 38 and 39, action on the draft resolutions is postponed to a later date, to be announced. At that time, I hope myself to make a brief concluding statement.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.